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Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have been following the discussions between Dr. Kissinger and Ambassador Huang Chen with great attention and I have also studied the notes that have been sent to us by the Chinese Government with respect to the proposed draft agreement. As you know, we differ in our assessment of the consequences of the agreement, though not in the purposes it is supposed to serve. It remains our view that this agreement confers no special rights on the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. --and we would oppose any such claim. On the other hand, there is no way recourse to force can be initiated by the U.S.S.R. without violating this agreement and thus creating a legal basis for resistance. As we have told your representatives and also other governments we intend to use this agreement to obtain greater scope for actions in areas not now covered by formal obligations.

Whatever our disagreement as to tactics, I want to use this occasion to tell you formally that the U.S. will oppose a policy that aims at hegemony or seeks to bring about the isolation of the People's Republic of China. For this reason Dr. Kissinger has assured Ambassador Huang Chen on my behalf that the U.S. will not change its vote at the United Nations on the issue of the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

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I understand the hesitation of the Chinese side to sign a formal declaration along the lines proposed by Dr. Kissinger on May 29. Let me, therefore, state our policy unilaterally: The U.S. will not engage in consultations that could affect the interest of the People's Republic of China without a full prior discussion with the Chinese Government. Specifically, any consultation under Article 4 of the agreement will be fully discussed with the Chinese Government before it is initiated and will not be concluded before the Chinese Government has an opportunity to express its view. In no case will the U.S. participate in a joint move together with the Soviet Union ~~over conflicts or~~ disputes where the People's Republic of China is a party under this agreement.

With
respect
to

Dr. Kissinger will be prepared to repeat our opposition to hegemony and our readiness for full consultation publicly on the occasion of his visit in August if the Chinese Government should consider it appropriate.

I recognize that the Chinese Government will reserve the right to express its views on this agreement. I hope, however, that it will do so in a manner that will not complicate the fixed course of the U.S. policy which is to oppose hegemonic aspirations no matter what their protest.

Sincerely,

Chou En-lai
Premier of the State Council of
the People's Republic of China
Peking, People's Republic of China

Authority 8012958
By SW NARA Date 7/9/07

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VIA SPECIAL CHANNEL

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

June 18, 1973

TO: Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, Peking
FROM: Henry A. Kissinger/*K*

Please deliver the letter quoted below to Chou En-lai at the earliest opportunity. The original will be delivered to Huang Chen tomorrow.

For any discussion with Chou En-lai, you can draw on the annotated version of the nuclear agreement which you have. The major point to get across to Chou En-lai is that the major principles which I enunciated in February continue to apply.

[Quote attached text]

Warm regards.

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